Cops Attack ASR Pickets to Aid Plant Runaway

Build a Labor Party Now!

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. XVIII—No. 45. 267 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1954 PRICE: 10 Cents

Mayor Wagner Moves One Day After Elections

By Tom Leonard

BROOKLYN, Nov. 3—The election results announcing the victory of the Democratic "friends of labor" were scarcely in when the American Safety Razor Company, backed by Democratic Mayor Wagner's club-wielding cops, this morning, launched its most violent attack to date against striking members of Local 475 of the independent United Electrical Workers.

The local has been striking for 35 days, including a 14-day sit-in, in an effort to prevent the company from moving to the South before signing a contract, agreed upon last August, which would grant the strikers pension and severance pay.

COPS ATTACK PICKETS

This morning squads of mounted and foot cops, by a prearranged signal, suddenly charged and dispersed a small group of strikers who were peacefully picketing in front of the main gate. **The cops had scarcely put away their clubs when two trailer trucks came around the corner and backed into the loading platform. Three more trailers pulled up in front a little later and the company began moving goods out of the plant.**

By four in the afternoon five trucks were loaded. While the cops held back the angry pickets the trucks started moving toward Staunton, Virginia, ASR's new southern home.

The company's answer to the willingness of the ASR strikers to sign a contract is — call in the cops, smash the picket line, beat the workers out of their pension and severance pay, and continue with its plans to run away to the South to get low-pay, non-union labor.

RUNAWAY SHOPS

The problem of runaway shops is cause for major concern to the New York labor movement. The textile, garment, and electrical unions have already suffered severe losses as a result of runaway shops. In addition, more companies are planning to move.

Ever since the failure of the CIO's "Operation Dixie," which was launched after World War II, to organize the South, Big Business through its flunkies in the Democratic Party has made the South a refuge for runaway shops.

The same Democratic Party the CIO had vainly depended on to help make "Operation Dixie" a success, later passed phony "Right to Work" laws instead. These laws, combined with race-baiting, intimidation and all-around union-smashing, have left the unorganized Southern workers temporarily helpless at the hands of exploiting bosses like ASR.

ENDANGER ALL UNIONS

Even where organized labor has established a foothold in the South the existing organiza-

(Continued on page 4)

Smog Victim

Agatha Acker, 3, and her doll wear gas masks as protection against industrial fumes-laden smog in Los Angeles. Oil refineries refused to shut down until smog dissipated. Myra Tanner Weiss, in Los Angeles during her SWP national lecture tour, urged workers not to work in poison-filled air.

Myra Weiss Hits Liberal Democrats On Humphrey Act

Myra Tanner Weiss, Campaign Director of the Socialist Workers Party and Vice-Presidential Candidate in 1952, concluded a highly successful national speaking tour at a rally held in Los Angeles on October 30.

"For nine years," said Myra, "the cold war and the witch-hunt have dominated the lives of the American people, because Big Business found it necessary to use the spy scare to justify its course of violent counter-revolution abroad and destruction of the labor movement at home."

Myra then showed how the witch-hunt gave rise to the fascist movement headed by McCarthy, "Only the Socialist Workers Party," she concluded, "can make the dream of the oppressed for a better world come true, because we alone fully believe in the power of the working class to organize a new society of peace and freedom."

Campaigning for the SWP at a rally on Oct. 8 in Chicago, Myra scored the liberal Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) as a co-sponsor of that section of the Communist Control Law, "which was nothing but a re-write of the union-busting Butler bill."

In Minneapolis on Oct. 13, Myra denounced Sen. Herbert Humphrey (D-Minn.) as the author of the bill to outlaw the Communist Party and urged workers to vote for Vincent R. Dunne, the SWP candidate for Senate. She also spoke on the University of Minnesota campus over station WTCN-TV's "Meet Sally" program, and she and Dunne appeared on WCCO-TV.

Myra also campaigned in Seattle and San Francisco, before winding up her tour in Los Angeles.

New FBI Arrests In Persecution Of Puerto Ricans

The Department of Justice has been staging a series of arrests of Puerto Rican Nationalists and at the same time members of the Puerto Rican Communist Party.

Following the conviction for "seditious conspiracy" of 13 Nationalists, who received maximum sentences, the FBI arrested 11 alleged leaders of the Puerto Rican C. P. Nine were arrested in Puerto Rico, one in New York, and one entered the U. S. from Mexico to face trial. All were charged with violating the thought-control Smith Act.

These arrests were followed on Oct. 30, by the roundup of nine Puerto Rican Nationalists in Chicago and two in Puerto Rico.

The timing of these arrests, the "dramatic" early dawn invasion of homes, the careful alternation between arrests of Nationalists and arrests of Stalinists, the wide circle of arrested, all indicates that the FBI is engaged in an elaborate multiple frame-up.

First of all the attempt is being made to link all the Nationalists arrested with the group that carried out a terrorist demonstration in last March's shooting in Congress. Anyone connected with the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party is subjected to persecution. The bitterness of these nationalists at the misery U.S. imperialism has imposed on Puerto Rico, is being used as "evidence" against the arrested victims.

Rank and file members and even sympathizers of the Nationalist Party, who had no connection whatsoever with the secretly prepared terrorist demonstration, are being railroaded to prison for long terms.

At the same time the FBI is trying to link the C. P. with the terrorists and in general to create the impression in the public mind that anyone opposed to the rule of Wall Street in Puerto Rico is guilty of committing acts of violence.

This whole frame-up tactic is part and parcel of the administration's witch-hunt campaign and must be denounced by all fighters for civil liberties.

Aid ASR Strike!

We urge New York unionists to rally to the ASR picket line, 315 Jay St., B'klyn. Finances are needed for food packages and the strike kitchen. Send contributions to:

Local 475,
United Electrical Workers,
160 Montague Street,
Brooklyn, N. Y.

'Little Scottsboro' Frame-up Victim Doomed to Death

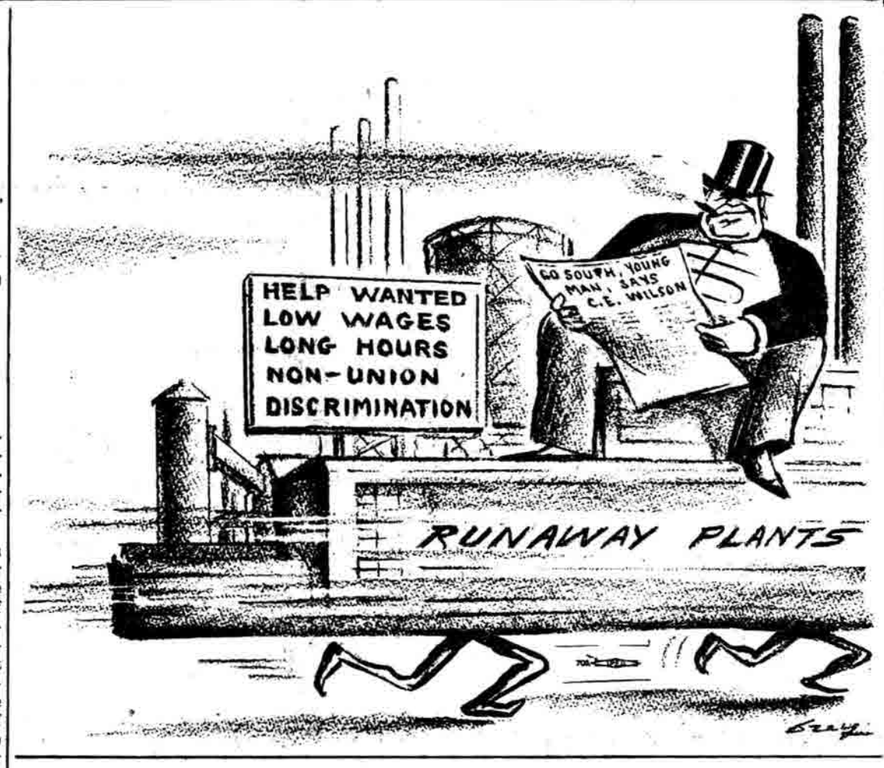
Walter Lee Irvin, sole survivor of Florida's "Little Scottsboro" frame-up, has been doomed to die in the electric chair during the week of November 8.

The signing of Irvin's death warrant by Acting Governor Johns is betrayal of a pledge to a state-wide committee of Florida liberals by both candidates for governor. The "informal" understanding was that the Negro youth's death sentence would be commuted to life imprisonment if defenders of Irvin refrained from raising the issue of the frame-up during the race for governor. Acting Governor Johns made public the setting of the execution date on Nov. 2 after the voting had begun.

Irvin, now 26 years old, entered the death house five years ago. He previously escaped death at the hands of a looting lynch mob which killed another defendant, Ernest Thomas. When Irvin and Samuel Shepherd, condemned to death by an all-white jury, were granted a new trial by the U. S. Supreme Court, Sheriff Willis McCall tried to end the case by shooting his two handcuffed prisoners. Shepherd died but Irvin miraculously survived. McCall has recently been campaigning against integrated schools around Milford, Delaware.

Acting Governor Johns was defeated in his election campaign and remains in office till January. A chance to hold Governor-elect Leroy Collins to his promise of commutation of the death sentence can only come about by pressure put on Acting Governor Charley E. Johns in Tallahassee. The NAACP is urging telegrams be sent asking a stay of sentence. If you can't stand the thought of a young man being legally murdered in a frame-up for a crime which may never have even taken place wire Gov. Johns immediately.

Voters Repudiate Giveaway, Unemployment Policy of GOP



Election Results Seen Opening New Political Stage in United States

By the Editors

The election results open a new political situation in the United States. The Democrats, despite the failure of the heralded sweep to materialize, did capture a clear majority in the House of Representatives, and according to the latest indications have won control of the Senate.

Two years ago in the presidential elections Big Business, through the Republican Party, pushed its own direct representatives into power and established a narrow majority in Congress. This brought to an end the 20-year coalition of labor and the Democratic Party.

Now the situation has been reversed. The premises for a rebirth of the labor-Democratic Party coalition have been established. Caught in a gigantic confidence game, organized by the labor officials and the Democrats, the workers tried to manifest their class will by rejecting the preferred party of Big Business.

The vote of the working class was a rejection of the brazen give-aways of the country's wealth and resources by the Big Business politicians to their corporation pals. It was a rejection of an administration which tells the unemployed "dogs" to "Go South." It was a rejection of the union-busting and witch-hunting drive. And it was a defeat for McCarthyism.

The fact that the workers voted as a class was evident everywhere. The heavy support for the Democrats came from the industrial centers; the main reservoir of Republican support came from the rural districts. In New York state the first returns came from the upstate industrial areas and New York City — and it looked like a Democratic landslide. But as the returns from the rural counties poured in the Democratic lead was cut down to a narrow margin.

In Michigan the powerful Republican senator Homer Ferguson was running way ahead. The early returns were from the farm counties. But his lead was "mowed down" when the Wayne County (Detroit) votes were counted.

It appears that the middle-class vote remained predominantly Republican with no more than marginal shifts towards the Democrats. This, in view of the Democratic victory, however close, underscores the solidity of the Democratic Party support among the workers.

Thus a new chapter opens for the politics of class collaboration championed by the labor bureaucrats, the Stalinists and the leaders of the minority organizations. Sparked by initial victory the trend towards another experiment with a Democratic-labor coalition government in 1956 will become almost irresistible.

This is a fact that the advanced workers must face if they are to effectively carry on the struggle for the political independence of the workers and for a basic class

(Continued on page 3)

An Eye-Witness Report On British Dock Strike

Britain's greatest dock strike in 28 years, which began Oct. 4, was ended on Oct. 30. The London employers reportedly made concessions on the main issue, the workers' demand for voluntary overtime, to the strikers. The outstanding feature of the struggle was the solidarity strikes called in major British ports to back the London strikers. We publish below an on-the-spot inside story on this glorious battle written shortly before the settlement.

* * *

By John White

LONDON, Oct. 27—Over 43,000 of Britain's dockers are now on strike. Some have been out for four weeks. The ports of London, Liverpool, Birkenhead, Hull and Southampton are at a standstill.

Behind the stoppage are two issues: the fight of the militant National Amalgamated Stevedores and Dockers Union against compulsory overtime, and flowing from that, their struggle to negotiate on behalf of their members.

To understand the full implications of this struggle it is necessary to know the relationship between this small union (the NASDU) and the Transport and General Workers Union.

The majority of British dockers are members of the Transport and General Workers Union, a vast general union embracing nearly one and a half million workers in thirteen different industries. It is a union whose bureaucratic structure was patterned by Ernest Bevin and whose General Secretary is now Arthur Deakin, present leader of the British trade union bureaucracy.

MILITANT TRADITION

These dockers, the most militant of British workers, with a great fighting tradition, are thus in one of the most bureaucratic of British unions. The dockers have fought the biggest of working class struggles since the war but always under the leadership of rank and file committees. **They have fought not only against their employers and the government machine, but also against their own union and its officials — who are appointed from above.**

Up till recently the National Amalagamated Stevedores and Dockers Union embraced 7,000 dockers, in London alone. A few weeks ago, however, there was a strike in Hull which began a movement that has aroused the full fury of Arthur Deakin and the TGWU leadership. The Hull dockers, who were then members of the TGWU won their strike. This despite the fact that their union leaders once again lined up with the employers in an attemot to smash militant struggle.

Immediately, almost the entire membership of the TGWU in that port transferred into membership of the NASDU. They were followed by 2,000 dockers

(Continued on page 2)

Some Questions Labor Leaders Must Answer

By Art Preis

Regardless of the election outcome, there are certain questions raised during the campaign which the union leaders are duty-bound to answer. These questions remain of burning importance to the workers. The labor officials have ducked these questions because they embarrassed the Democrats whom the union leaders, by and large, have supported.

The first question the labor leaders have yet to answer is: Did the Democratic Party while in power end mass unemployment without resort to war?

In the last weeks of the campaign and in a desperate attempt to cover up their own sorry record, the Republicans issued a set of figures which showed that the Democrats failed to achieve steady full employment in peacetime.

FIGURES UNCHALLENGED

No Democrat, no union leader has challenged these figures, which show that average annual unemployment in the first eight years of Roosevelt's administration never fell below eight million, except briefly in 1937 when the total sank to 7,700,000, then shot up again in 1938 to 10,390,000. Nor do they challenge the post-war figures revealing a gradual rise in the number of jobless for 1945 to 1950, with more than 4,600,000 listed out of work by Feb. 1950.

Do the union leaders dispute these figures? The Republicans did not invent them. We have cited them for years. These figures were issued by the Roosevelt-Truman administrations.

Adlai Stevenson, in his answer to Eisenhower on Oct. 31, did not dare to dispute these figures. Instead, he took a leaf out of the McCarthy-Nixon book. He replied by charging that Eisenhower was using a "Communist" argument. He claimed that "the proposition that our prosperity has been achieved in the past only at the price of war and bloodshed . . . of course has been standard Communist propaganda for years and is believed by many to prove that the United States is ready to precipitate war in order to save capitalism."

Stevenson, who has loudly deplored the false "Commuffist" smear flung by the Republicans, didn't hesitate to use the same kind of red-baiting smear against the Republicans. What makes Stevenson's answer smell even worse is the fact that the Stalinists—he's talking about the Communist Party—have not made such a charge against the Democrats.

NOT IN DAILY WORKER

Tell us on what date and on what page the Daily Worker even mentioned the question of the unemployment and war record of the Democrats during this election campaign. The Stalinists will never publish the unemployment figures during Roosevelt's regime because these would expose their own treachery to the workers in supporting a capitalist government that could not eliminate unemployment except through war. We can't find these facts in the Stalinist press, unless they're in such fine print we missed them. The Stalinists have been doing their best to cover up these facts.

They have been covering up this vital information for the same reason the conservative labor leaders have been concealing it: the Stalinists also supported the Democrats in the current election campaign. For that reason, they kept silent, as did the union officials, about the unemployment record of the Democratic administrations. But, we ask again, are the figures false? Did the Democrats cure mass unemployment short of war?

TRUMAN'S ATTITUDE

The Socialist Workers Party, which has been exposing the growing unemployment under Eisenhower since August 1953, has also publicized Truman's attitude back in 1950 before the Korean war cut short a developing U.S. depression. The Militant has repeatedly quoted Truman's statement in the Feb. 15, 1950, N. Y. Times. He said: "A certain amount of unemployment, say from three to five million, is supportable. It is a good thing that job-seeking should go on at all times; this is healthy for the economic body."

Isn't this a cynical attitude toward the unemployed? Do the labor leaders agree with Truman that five million unemployed are "supportable" and "healthy" for the economy? Or do they question the authenticity of the quotation? The Oct. 28 N. Y. Times affirmed the correctness of our quotation: "The source of Mr. Truman's comment was an interview with Arthur Krock of the N. Y. Times, published in this newspaper on Feb. 15, 1950. The interview article was read and authorized by the White House for publication."

Not then or since has Truman indicated his views have altered; nor has any leading Democrat opposed them.

POLICE-STATE LIBERALS

Finally, the union leaders have yet to speak out clearly on the Democratic police-state liberals who led the pack in the last session of Congress in putting over the anti-labor Humphrey-Butler "Communist-infiltration" law.

How do the union leaders explain the fact that the Democratic liberals in Congress, who promised to fight against anti-union legislation, spearheaded enactment of a law that could be used to destroy the legal rights of any union simply by getting a Washington board to call it "Communist-infiltrated"? Even the AFL leaders could not cite one good thing about this law—so far as the role of the Democrats is concerned. They could only point to one meaningless amendment tacked on by Republican Senator Ives as offering some consolation to labor.

Let the union leaders duck and dodge as they will, we are going to continue to demand an answer from them on these questions. We are going to urge the union members to press these questions and thus expose thoroughly the policy of supporting capitalist political machines, whether Democrat or Republican. We hope to help make it tougher and tougher for the union bureaucrats to block a labor party.

A Good Example

By Robert Chester

I have just come from a meeting where a group of Philadelphia working mothers put the wheels into motion to save a child care center. It was an instructive experience.

The facts are not unusual. A city as large as Philadelphia has only 13 centers that together care for about 1,000 children. Funds are supplied partly by the working parents and partly by the city. School facilities are usually used with authority being given to the Board of Education.

The area around the McIntyre School in North Philadelphia has been steadily changing from white to colored, making the need for the center greater since a greater number of Negro mothers work. The area contains over 13,000 families showing that the facilities are too limited now. Yet it was announced that the center would be closed due to "limitations in space."

A group of mothers, white and colored, went to work. They organized an emergency committee, made a survey of the needs of the area and began to send delegations to City Council, The Mayor, the State Senator and local dignitaries. They called a meeting at a neighborhood church whose pastor was deeply concerned with the problem. The meeting itself was carried out with a dispatch that would do credit to any well-organized union meeting.

Since it was just before elections, the State Senator and City Councilman were present and representatives of four city departments attended. Full cooperation in keeping the center was promised, and the prospect of additional aid discussed with the usual admonition that the mothers should be patient since the wheels of government grind very slow.

The working mothers themselves reported on their problems. Mothers from a different area that had its center shifted gave graphic accounts of the difficulties they faced. "It was not a question," they said, "of shifting one center somewhere else but of providing more centers." And they could not afford to wait a few years, their children would be too old to need a center then.

These women were not fooling. They wanted results. With the aggressive and efficient organization they displayed it seems clear that they will keep the McIntyre Center. The next step would logically be to spread their organization and fight to expand the Child Care Center program. There is no doubt that parents would flock to support it. These mothers have set a good example!

Youth -- Don't Wait

By Joyce Cowley

About six months ago a constitutional amendment that would have lowered the voting age to 18 was hastily buried by the U.S. Senate through the combined efforts of Republicans and Democrats. This week at a New York Times panel discussion Dr. T. V. Smith, a Professor of Politics and Philosophy, revealed with surprising frankness why the politicians don't welcome 18-year-old voters. According to the Times:

"He warned that young people were prone to carry idealism into politics and expect too much from government officials."

Very dangerous! They might, for example, expect elected officials to carry out their campaign promises. Dr. Smith also noted that "sportsmanship and magnanimity were a part of party politics, and that, despite campaign charges, mudslinging and all the other fury of campaigns, the winning and losing candidates resumed their friendship after the votes were tallied. He added that youth would not know this and in its idealism might spoil this facet of politics."

Apparently a youth of 18 may not accept the fact that the men who have been yelling "Villain!" are really buddies. He might be unreasonable and accuse them of double talk. He might even conclude they were both right when they called each other thief and liar.

Young people are not supposed to have any voice in shaping the policies that may quite literally mean life or death for them. A fifteen year old boy who attempted to attend a talk by Judge Leibowitz on juvenile delinquency was told that he was "too young." The boy of eighteen who is about to be drafted is "too young" to decide the issues of war and peace.

Adolescence, according to popular journalists, is a carefree, irresponsible period of life. The Times, in an article on teenage fads, describes adolescents as "pseudo-sophisticates teetering on the edge of growing up. And while teetering, having a wonderful time." One teen-ager wrote a letter protesting bitterly: "Adults seem to find it easy to forget the blues, the broken hearts, the feeling of momentous tragedy, and the tormented anxiety of the search for an unknown object. Adults remember the irresponsibility (even though most young people have a starved man's craving for that independence and responsibility which symbolize adulthood) . . . Why do adults think of adolescence as 'the best years of their lives'? Because **they** have not grown up."

"The Adolescent in Your Family," a new publication of the U.S. Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, says:

"Society practically says 'You have to wait. We can't recognize you yet or take you in on our affairs.' We keep telling adolescents to wait, wait, wait. To wait for jobs, to wait for love, to wait for independence, to wait until they are old enough to take part in the affairs of the world."

I'd like to say to any teen-ager who reads this column—don't wait! You have a right to share in the decisions that will determine what kind of world you are going to live in. If no one offers you this right, take it anyway. Make yourself heard. It's up to you to challenge the society that stunts your development, deprives you of hope for the future and threatens you with annihiliation in a Third World War without giving you the elementary right to decide whether or not **you** want to fight. The socialist movement is not afraid of the idealism and honesty of youth. We want young people to take part in our struggle against the misery and violence of the capitalist world. If we all work together we can change this world and rebuild it, so that you and your children will find abundance and security and peace.

Notes from the News

UNEMPLOYMENT IN DETROIT has mounted to approximately 200,000.

* * *

AUTO MANUFACTURERS provoked the conservatively squeamish Wall Street Journal to write an editorial, Nov. 1, titled "A Matter of Embarrassment." The embarrassment was over the unbelievably lavish and costly parties the auto companies put on for newspapermen at the unveiling of their 1955 models. In addition to paying transportation and expenses for reporters from as far as California the Detroit auto barons staged Pompeiin-style festivities including "such things as a full-scale musical revue, Broadway comedians, dancing girls, luxurious groaning boards and overflowing bars."

* * *

SOUTHERN UNION INTEGRATES. The Dade County, Florida, AFL Bricklayers Union has admitted into Local 7, previously lily-white, 52 Negro workers who in turn had belonged to an independent all-Negro union. The integration was carried out in conjunction with the NAACP's labor relations department.

* * *

CIO SHOE WORKERS LOCAL 122 in Los Angeles at a meeting on Sept. 21 voted to support the fight of James Kutcher, the legless veteran, for re-instatement to his Veterans Administration job, from which he was fired for membership in the Socialist Workers Party. The Shoe Local also voted a donation to the Kutcher Civil Rights Defense Committee.

* * *

POLICE CHIEF BACKS DOWN. The New Brunswick, N. J. Chief of Police tried to intimidate the local NAACP from distributing a circular on school segregation. A detective picked up Nathan Gumbs, the local NAACP president, and took him to police headquarters where Chief Kane demanded: "What do you mean distributing these circulars?" Gumbs was ordered to stop distribution and appear before the magistrate the next day with the remaining circulars. The magistrate backed up the police chief. Telegrams to New Brunswick officials from the NAACP, the American Civil Liberties Union and the Pittsburgh Courier had effect. Within 12 hours Chief Kane backed down, declaring it was all a "misunderstanding" and "I agree with everything that was in the circular."

* * *

LABOR CO-OPERATION resulted in the victory of the AFL Machinists Union in a NLRB representation election in Kenosha, Wisconsin. Previous attempts of both AFL and CIO unions to win such elections at the Tri-Clover plant had failed. Just before the election the CIO told its members to vote for the IAM which had more men organized in the plant. United, the union forces won a majority.

* * *

OVER 1,500 UNEMPLOYED flooded the community of Donaldson's Crossroads, Pa., in answer to a three-line help wanted ad run in local newspapers. The unusual influx into the small community began at daybreak and caused a 700-car traffic jam while men milled around looking for "the guy who's doing the hiring."

* * *

"DON'T BE A SCAB" was the slogan on buttons worn by members of AFL Machinists local 851 when they reported to work recently at the Caterpillar Tractor Co. in Joliet, Ill. Management objected to the pins and laid 247 wearers of them off for the day. Before a labor board the company argued the buttons were insulting, degrading, suggested disloyalty and treason, and might cause violence disrupting production. The union won the case and the day's pay for the 247 workers, on the principle of free speech.

Integration -- Timid or Bold?

One of the significant features of the school racist strikes and disturbances in Washington and Baltimore was that the principal trouble spots were schools where integration was window dressing and that there was no trouble, or only minor trouble, where integration was tried on a larger scale.

Thus in Baltimore the anti-integration movement first started and lasted longest at P.S. 34. This is an elementary school that has 554 students for the morning shift and 550 for the afternoon shift. Though it is in a racially mixed neighborhood the over-cautious Baltimore school authorities had assigned to it only 12 Negro children, all of kindergarten age. **In glaring contrast was P.S. 74, also an elementary school. Here Negro children comprised about 45% of the student body and there were no disturbances.**

The other main trouble spot in Baltimore was Southern High School. Here, too, integration was of a token or window dressing kind. Of approximately 1,800 students only 36 were Negro.

A similar pattern prevailed in Washington, D.C. The point of origin and ugliest situation was Anacostia High. In a student body of over 1,300 only 46 were Negro. While the strike spread to the other high schools including McKinley High, which has 423 Negro and 588 white students, it is significant that there the disturbance was smaller, shorter, and less malignant.

Also noteworthy is that the McKinley strikers distinguished themselves from those at Anacostia High School and Eastern High School by declaring that while these latter were striking against "integration itself" they were not against integration but wanted settlement of some grievances. A quick settlement brought the setting up of a grievance committee of four white and four Negro students.

"FAST CLIP?"

The amount of integration already instituted is a victory and all opponents of Jim Crow support it against the attempts of the racists to overthrow it. **However, wishful thinking and deliberate propaganda has misled many regarding the actual amount of integration achieved. The New York Times, for instance, both in its news and editorial columns declared that integration in Washington, D.C. was proceeding "at a fast clip." Just how fast is this?**

Walter Goodman in the Oct. 25 New Republic reports: "Most of Washington's 103,000 public school children found little change on their first day back after the summer. Several of the city's 160 schools remained as pure as they had been before segregation was abolished. All but about two dozen of the others had only a token representation of white or Negro students, with perhaps a lone colored teacher thrown in."

Students from Southern High School in Baltimore, recently the scene of demonstrations against the end of segregation, are shown above visiting an interracial class at New Rochelle High Schol in New York where for a week they were the guests of the northern students.

Washington School Superintendent H. M. Corning's snail-like plan for integration was attacked by the American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) as follows: "This admission (of students) procedure can only be considered a step away from the ultimate goal." Since the integration was basically the transfer of about 3,000 Negro children into hitherto lily-white schools, it left about 55,000 Negro school children in what were still largely Jim Crow schools. Said the Quakers: "Since both white and Negro schools are located in mixed areas, the one-way movement . . . has the effect of leaving Negro schools racially designated, and continues neighborhood separation along racial lines."

The picture in Baltimore is similar. Of the 5,000 Negro children in public schools about 1,750, or less than 3½%, were switched to hitherto white schools while the overwhelming majority of Negro children continue to attend some 50 Jim Crow schools.

THIN EDGED WEDGE

Delight with the fact that school segregation has been breached has made many opponents of Jim Crow absolutely uncritical of the token nature of most of the integration. They believe that this is the thin edge of the wedge. And since it is a wedge, they reason it doesn't matter how thin it is. **But a wedge may break off if its point is too thin. There also remains the question raised in the opening of this article — whether real integration initially wouldn't have been not only more honest but wiser.**

The danger is that in Washington and Baltimore the authorities will slow down further integration and finally rest on their laurels while the real situation remains preponderant segregation with integration as window dressing.

JIM CROW CAPITALISM

How inherent this tendency is in American capitalist society is seen by the whole rash of revelations about segregated schooling in the "unsegregated" North. This is not only the "natural" segregation which follows the pattern of housing segregation but deliberate school segregation by gerrymandering of school districts and by student transfer systems.

In Englewood and around New Brunswick, N. J., in Cleveland and in Hillsboro, Ohio, in El Centro, California, in New York City school segregation practices have been revealed. They exist to one degree or another in thousands of other Northern localities.

In the deep South, of course, school segregation has hardly been touched. Some gains have been registered: on college campuses; in some private schools; in Fayetteville, Arkansas, where nine Negro students have been admitted to a white high school. Otherwise schools are the same there as before the Supreme Court decision.

Thus it is seen that the integration achieved so far in the border states is but a dent in the armor of the Jim Crow school system. But to have made a dent is already a victory and it will whet the battle spirit of the foes of segregation to demolish the whole Jim Crow monster — North, South and border state.

...British Dock Strike

(Continued from page 1)

in Birkenhead, who under a militant leadership have had bitter clashes with Deakin's officials in the past.

BACKGROUND OF STRIKE

The following are the events which took place on the eve of the present strike which was begun by the NASDU — or the 'blue union' — as dockers call it, because of the color of its membership cards.

Since the beginning of January the 'blue union' has carried a struggle against the port employers on the question of overtime. The employers have sought to operate a system of compulsory overtime, with disciplinary penalties for men who refused to work. The union has stood by the trade union principle that overtime must be worked by voluntary arrangement.

On January 16, one of the members of the NASDU was disciplined for refusing to work overtime. The union then instituted a general overtime ban which continued up to the outbreak of the present strike.

The employers refused to negotiate on any question until the overtime ban was lifted. The Transport and General Workers Union, although it had agreed with the 'blue union' that it would not negotiate separately, entered into an agreement with the employers on the sorting of meat. The present strike began when members of the NASDU refused to work under this agreement, believing that Deakin's union was attempting to freeze the NASDU out of the docks.

The 7,000 members of this union who stopped work were quickly followed by the rest of London's 26,000 dockers, bargemen and lightermen. They were expressing the traditional solidarity of the portworkers and their support for the struggle of the NASDU against compulsory overtime.

The strike spread nationally. It has now become a test of strength between the NASDU and militant members of Deakin's union on the one hand, and on the other, the employers, the government and the TGWU machine.

ROLE OF STALINISTS

Deakin recently made a vicious attack on the NASDU and 'communist agitators' who, he declared were responsible for the strike. The fact is however, that the recent role of the British C. P. on the docks has aroused resentment among militants. The C. P. was already mistrusted by a large section of dockers because of its past. In 1945 the C. P. opposed the biggest of the post-war dock strikes. Such betrayals are not easily forgotten in dockland.

Recently, when Hull dockers joined the NASDU, Pollit, the General Secretary of the C.P., attacked them for leaving the TGWU and called for "unity in the fight to democratize" Deakin's union. One of the two members of the C. P. on the Executive Committee of the 'blue union' resigned from the party in protest.

The Stalinists have been forced to support the present strike but they are clearly afraid of any strengthening of the militant NASDU, a union which they do not control and in which the anti-Stalinist militants are gaining strength.

LABOR PARTY POSITION

The strike itself has had repercussions within the Labor Party. Last week Tribune — the Bevanite left-wing weekly — in a front page article attacked Deakin declaring he did not know what the strike was about and had little interest in finding out. The article was headlined "Slander on the Dockers." In their fight against the right wing of the Labor Party the Bevanites are being forced to seek a base in industry. Their support for the dockers has aroused the fury of the top trade union bureaucracy.

As a result the National Executive Committee of the Labor Party has now passed a resolution declaring that the Tribune article constitutes "an unwarranted, irresponsible and scurrilous attack on the leadership of the Transport and General Workers Union at a critical time in the progress of the dock dispute".

Tribune, this week refuses to be silenced and declares the censure motion is an attack on their rights to express their opinions in public. The right wing will undoubtedly attempt disciplinary action against leading Bevanites. There have already been hints in the British press that they were considering dealing with Tribune in a similar manner as they dealt recently with "Socialist Outlook," another left-wing paper which was banned by the right-wing officials. Thus the dock strike can very well bring to a head the crisis in the British Labour Party.

Meanwhile the government is preparing to use troops on the docks. They have hesitated to do so, knowing full well that such action would spark a sympathy strike among transport drivers and others.

The men now on strike are firm and solid, despite the fact they are suffering real hardship as they receive no strike pay. British dockers are noted for their fighting ability and solidarity. The Government, the employers and Deakin would dearly love to smash such fighting spirit.

Three Veterans

By Joseph Keller

Congressman Douglas R. Stringfellow, a Utah Republican, had campaigned for a number of years on his war record. He told a vivid but fake account of being the sole survivor of 38-man OSS mission dropped behind German lines. He finally sobbingly confessed his hoax publicly on Oct. 16. That was two days after The Army Times had raised questions about Stringfellow's "heroic" exploits.

Stringfellow actually was wounded in the war. A few days after he landed in Europe as a private in an armored division he stepped on a land mine, was partly paralyzed and still walks with a cane. He used this wound, with fantastic embellishments, as Republican vote-catching. In Congress, naturally, he was a supporter of the witch-hunt.

Before Stringfellow's lies caught up with him, his faked story of capturing a German atomic nuclear scientist, Otto Hahn, had been enacted last January on an NBC television program and he had received the Junior Chamber of Commerce award as one of America's 10 outstanding young men of 1953.

McCARTHY'S "WOUND"

Stringfellow's confession brings to mind another prominent politician, who has made much capital out of his war record, especially his "wound." Fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy was "wounded in action" when participating in ceremonial high-jinks while crossing the equator on the seaplane tender Chandeleur on June 22, 1943. McCarthy, who was unable to wangle a Purple Heart, slipped while climbing down a ladder with one foot in a bucket.

While speaking at a 1952 meeting in Badger Village, Wisconsin, McCarthy was asked by veterans present why he wore built-up shoes. He dramatically slapped one leg and said he was carrying a load of "shrapnel in my leg." He even cited the weight, although there is some disagreement as to whether he said "10 pounds of shrapnel" or "8." McCarthy's phony "war wound," plus his souped-up war "exploits," are part of the paraphernalia of his drive to build a fascist movement and make himself the American Hitler.

WITCH-HUNTERS' VICTIM

One of the most implacable opponents of McCarthy is a veteran who lost both legs under fire in Italy in 1943. His name is James Kutcher. But he came to prominence when he was fired from his Veterans Administration job in Newark on Aug. 16, 1948, because of his admitted membership in the Socialist Workers Party. There's nothing phony about Jimmy's wounds. He really did have a load of shrapnel in his legs. They didn't bother to remove the shrapnel. They took off the legs instead. But in touring the country to raise funds to continue his fight for civil liberties and to expose McCarthyism, Kutcher has never posed as a "war hero."

Unlike the McCarthys and Stringfellows, Kutcher disclaims the "hero" title. In his book, The Case of the Legless Veteran, Jimmy wrote, ". . . I must explain just what my attitude was to the draft, the army and the war. I find this necessary because on numerous occasions during the last few years I have seen or heard myself described as a 'hero.' . . . I was a soldier. I fought in a battle. I was wounded. I was decorated — but I was not a 'hero' and I don't want any sympathy based on misconceptions. I was drafted. I did not volunteer. What's heroic about doing something you are forced to do?"

He goes on to explain: "I was politically opposed to World War II, before it began and while it was going on. I did not believe that it would bring the spread of the four freedoms proclaimed by President Roosevelt, or that it was part of a people's revolution as asserted by Vice-President Wallace, or that it was a war of national liberation as the Stalinists claimed after Hitler attacked the Soviet Union and they suddenly became the most vociferous supporters of the war. To me it seemed essentially a repetition of the first world war, a struggle over markets and raw materials and spheres of influence. . ."

There you have it. Two phonies who lie about their war records and wounds and seek to destroy American liberties; a real wounded veteran who has been hounded and victimized for defending the rights of the people. Two capitalist politicians and one socialist.

A Negro Paper On Kutcher's Book

The Cleveland Call and Post reviewed "The Case of the Legless Veteran" by James Kutcher in its edition of Oct. 2, 1954 and said it gave "a new slant on the whole scope of the 'loyalty' proceedings." Other comments from the review of Kutcher's autobiography by the Ohio Negro newspaper were:

"James Kutcher has carried his case through eleven appeals to the federal courts, the latest of which is still pending. In his book he described these fights, his war service, and the support given to him by Negro Baptist groups, the famed lawyer Loren Miller on the West Coast, the NAACP and other bodies and persons. . . .

"The book makes interesting reading, especially when related to efforts made recently to 'smear' a number of other public figures."

THE MILITANT ARMY

Chicago reports excellent sales in the past week of their Militant and pamphlet campaign.

Literature Agent **Carol Houston** writes, "At a liberal meeting where Howard Mayhew spoke **Snow** sold 10 Militants, six Trumbull Park pamphlets, two copies of Fourth International, and over three dollars' worth of other literature. Sunday **Sheavy** and **Sherry C.** sold 21 papers at a union meeting.

"Wednesday **Marj** sold four Trumbull Park pamphlets at a PTA meeting where Mayhew spoke. Thursday **Mary Lou** and **Jackie** sold 50 pamphlets at a church meeting where Walter White spoke. That same afternoon **Alice** and I sold 10 Militants at a union meeting. Friday **Will** and **Bert** sold 15 Militants and five pamphlets on the campus. Saturday eight comrades went out and sold 164 Trumbull Park pamphlets in a few hours. **Snow** sold 26; **Dot**, 25; **Will**, 25; **Carol**, 25; **Marj**, 23; **Sam**, 25; **Jackie**, 11; and **Bert**, four. Bert also put 25 on an El station newsstand. We gave a free copy of the election Militant with each pamphlet sold. **Hilde** and **George** distributed 100 copies of our election issue at a housing project Tuesday.

Boston has been conducting a series of mobilizations to sell the Stop McCarthyism pamphlet with very good results. Literature Agent **Ken Saunders** writes, "The response has been terrific. On our first mobilization we covered two widely separated localities and sold 72 copies in less than two hours. In one of the areas two comrades sold 20 copies in just one hour making door to door calls.

"The following Sunday netted the sale of 93 pamphlets. In one area, a new one for us, 29 copies were sold as compared to the 20 sold the previous week. At our forum meeting 30 copies were sold. Our third sale netted 60 copies in spite of a rainy day. Two more mobilizations have been planned for the campaign."

Detroit Literature Agent **Janet MacGregor** reports, "On Saturday **Dorothy, Sherry** and **B. Allen** went out in the Negro neighborhood and in about an hour sold 57 Trumbull Park pamphlets. Dot sold 21; Sherry, 21; and B. Allen, 15. It is a very easy pamphlet to sell and **Edie** took it with her in a project and sold 19 going door to door. We have been covering each of the meetings where SWP candidates speak with the Militant and have been getting a very good response. We have also enclosed a leaflet about the date of our election rally and have offered a free one month sub to anyone writing in from the leaflet. It is a new way to make friends for the Militant."

'Boon or Curse?'

Lynn Marcus will speak on, "Automation — Boon or Curse?" at the New York Socialist Forum this Friday, Nov. 12, 8 PM, at 116 University Place.

Subscription $3 per year; $1.50 for 6 months. Foreign: $4.50 per year; $2.25 for 6 months. Canadian: $3.50 per year; $1.75 for 6 months. Bundle Orders: 5 or more copies 6c each in U.S., 7c each in foreign countries.

THE MILITANT

Published Weekly in the Interests of the Working People
THE MILITANT PUBLISHING ASSOCIATION
116 University Pl., N. Y. 3, N. Y. Phone: AL 5-7460
Editor: JOSEPH HANSEN
Business Manager: DOROTHY JOHNSON

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's policies. These are expressed in its editorials.

"Entered as second class matter March 7, 1944 at the Post Office at New York, N.Y., under the act of March 3, 1879."

Vol. XVIII—No. 45. Monday, November 8, 1954

. . . Republican Policy Repudiated

(Continued from page 1)

realignment in American politics.

The labor officials have succeeded in sidetracking the organization of a Labor Party. A new experience will now be needed in order to shatter illusions of the workers and convince them that their is no substitute for their own political organization. Meantime the class conscious workers have the task of telling the truth about the political trap the labor officials have led the workers into.

The advanced workers must base themselves on the fact that the organized working class vote for the Democrats was a deformed expression of the workers' will to act as a class politically — this will to class action cannot be obstructed indefinitely by the policy of the labor bureaucrats.

There will be no lack of opportunity to back up explanation and propaganda with hard fact. The Democrats won an election victory with the support of the workers but the Democratic Congress cannot solve the burning problems of the workers.

Both the Republican and Democratic parties hastened to make clear, even before the votes were all counted, that on the fundamental question of foreign policy they stand united. That is, they are united on the drive toward World War III — the war against the Soviet bloc and for the imperialist conquest of the world.

The hesitation of Wall Street at taking the plunge into atomic war will continue to provoke profound economic difficulties at home. Short of all-out war the capitalist parties cannot avert economic depression and mass unemployment.

Thus the continued rule of capitalism will inflict greater hardships on the American workers and speed their education in class politics.

But the Democratic Party and their labor lieutenants will utilize every device to prolong the imprisonment of the unions within capitalist politics.

The Democrats will be long on demagogy and short on performance in the next two years. They will duck every test on the burning issues: unemployment, union-busting, the fight against Jim Crow and discrimination in schools, housing and employment, and the fight for civil liberties. For all these defaults on campaign promises they will have a ready alibi:

"We cannot carry out our program," they will plead, "as long as the executive remains in the hands of the Republicans."

Another alibi will be that one third of the Democratic strength in Congress is based on the Dixiecrats, who because of their seniority will head the powerful committees. The argument will be: "It's true the Dixiecrats vote with the reactionary Republicans, but we cannot hope to win a majority in '56 without them—so we must be careful and not alienate them by pushing our program all the way."

The workers, hoping to achieve full employment and to defend their living standards, will tend to go along with the idea that this can be accomplished by a Democratic victory in '56. Economic development, conditioned by the tempo of the war drive, even another experience of the workers with a "Democratic" depression, will be the basic factors regulating the speed with which the workers find the present political road of the labor officials untenable.

The elections recorded a change in the specific weight of the McCarthyite fascist movement on the national scene. The outstanding McCarthyite candidate, Joseph T. Meek, in Illinois, was defeated, significantly by the heavy vote of the industrial centers. The test McCarthy candidate in the fascist Senator's home state of Wisconsin, Charles J. Kersten, running for Congress, was defeated by a wide margin.

Thus instead of acting as the whipcracker over a Republican Party that is firmly entrenched in power, as they did after 1952, the McCarthyites are now a minority of a minority party. It would be criminal to deduce from this that the fascist menace no longer exists. The fascists as a matter of fact can experience their most important phase of development during the next period. In the fight over who was responsible for the Republican defeat, in the Senate censure fight, in the selection and hardening of cadres, in seeking coalition with the race terrorists, in broadened experiments with social demagogy, the fascists will prepare an executioners axe against the labor movement.

But the perspective of America's development depends on what the workers do. The whole reactionary course of capitalism, towards war, depression and fascism can be reversed once the workers tear loose from the bondage imposed by the political policy of the labor officials. The main task therefore, facing the militants, is to patiently and tirelessly expose the role and policy of the labor bureaucrats.

No compromise with the labor watchdogs of imperialism in the ranks of the working class! Stand firm in the principled struggle against class collaboration in politics. Work for a total break with capitalist politics and the launching of an independent Labor Party!

Stalinist Treachery in Election

Although making a pretense of supporting the American Labor Party slate in New York, the Communist (Stalinist) Party actually threw its weight behind the Democratic ticket headed by multimillionaire Averell Harriman. Never did the Stalinists play a more devious and treacherous game to help line up radical-minded workers for one of the war parties of Wall Street imperialism.

During the campaign the Stalinist Daily Worker kept assuring the ALP supporters that the CP trick of carrying water on both shoulders — encouraging support of Harriman and urging backing for the ALP — would not jeopardize the ALP's regular place on the ballot, which requires a minimum of 50,000 votes for governor. Largely as a result of the knifing it received from the Stalinists, the ALP's candidate for governor, John T. McManus, received only 44,862 votes. The ALP, it appears, is no longer entitled antomatically to a place on the ballot.

"Under the conditions of the prevailing anti-GOP tide, it is perfectly possible for the ALP to get far more than 50,000 votes and not weaken the objective of defeating the Rockefeller-Dewey-Ives machine," wrote Simon Gerson in the Oct. 28 Daily Worker. "Votes obtained for the ALP will NOT help elect a Republican. Of this the most worrisome can be assured."

This implies that if votes for the ALP would divert necessary votes to elect Harriman then the CP is in favor, by all means, of voting Democratic. This was made more explicit by George Morris in the October 31 Worker. He wrote that "the paramount objective, understood here as all over the country, is defeat of the Eisenhower-Dewey-Ives forces . . . The issue is not so much whether Harriman is 'better' than Ives, as the urgency of defeating the latter and his entire ticket." Morris even finds it "unfortunate" that "some unions in New York . . . are not overworking themselves for the ticket they endorsed."

On Nov. 3, the Daily Worker jubilantly proclaimed in massive headlines its joy at the Democratic victory: "HARRIMAN WINS — N.Y. Labor Routs Deweyism." The Stalinist sheet hailed the "coalition . . . organized behind Averell Harriman, Democratic-Liberal nominee" and boasted that "progressive forces in the state, while backing the American Labor Party slate, also helped advance this anti-GOP coalition supporting Harriman."

Just what is this "anti-GOP coalition supporting Harriman"? It is the dirty alliance of the conservative labor bureaucrats, who are lined up 100% behind Wall Street's anti-Soviet war policy, with the big city bosses and Southern race-haters. This is the coalition of the labor lieutenants of American imperialism with the party that took this country into two world wars, launched the cold war and dragged us into the Korean "police action."

While covering up Harriman's class ties with America's sixty richest families, his vast wealth made out of the exploitation of labor, his strikebreaking in the Harriman-owned Arden Farms strike, the Daily Worker did reluctantly concede that Harriman "boasted of his services to the cold war hysteria against the Soviet Union." How about the "services to the cold war hysteria against the Soviet Union" rendered by the labor bureaucrats who form the other side of the "coalition" which the Stalinists urge the workers to support?

This "coalition," which the Stalinists boast so proudly of supporting, is designed precisely to bind organized labor to the capitalist war machine and to prevent the workers from taking genuine independent labor political action through formation of an independent labor party. By supporting this "coalition," by helping to keep the workers tied to the politics of the labor agents of imperialism, the Stalinists continue, as they have always done, to help betray American labor to the capitalist war-makers.

25 Years After the Wall Street Crash

By John G. Wright

A quarter of a century ago, on Oct. 29, 1929, the bottom dropped out of the stock market. Almost 16½ million shares were dumped in Wall St. on that single day, a record that stands unbroken. Bankrupt financiers and brokers started jumping out of skyscraper windows, likewise in record numbers. Every year, come October, the financial community still experiences chills and fevers, haunted by the memory of what Wall St. continues to call THE DAY.

On the 25th anniversary of the 1929 crash, at a time when the stock market had climbed back to 1929 levels, the N. Y. Times, the mouthpiece of the decisive capitalist circles in our country, once again was impelled to pose the fatal question: "CAN IT HAPPEN AGAIN?" This question appears to have the same fascination for the capitalists as murderers reputedly have for returning to the scene of their crime.

"GAMING FEVER"

The question posed by The Times is not an academic one. But to be able to answer it correctly, if at all, it is first necessary to understand exactly what happened 25 years ago. This, naturally enough, is the last thing the Times editors are interested in. According to these editors the crash simply came as a result of mass mental aberration, "a gaming fever." It was, they say, "the inevitable sequel of the extravagant speculation of the Twenties." And they are unsparing in their condemnation of "excesses," "abuses," "mistakes," "that great folly," etc. etc. (N. Y. Times, Oct. 24, 1954).

And who was it that promoted this extravagant speculation, this great folly? The Times editorial writers place the blame on "stock manipulators" and "shoe string manipulators." But the Times financial editors are much more explicit. Without blushing they write: "It was a time when scrub women, porters, elevator boys, typists, actors, teachers, nurses, one and all fell prey to the belief that . . . success and prosperity could be had merely by speculating in Wall Street."

In the Twenties the profiteers spread the fable that everybody was speculating, bootblacks and billionaires, poor and rich alike. In 1954 they try to spread an even more extravagant fable that it was the scrub women, porters, actors, "one and all" who fed with their pitiful resources the wild speculation.

Let us set the record straight. Millions were ruined indeed, among them widows and orphans. But who speculated in the Twenties, and how many? Only a tiny fraction of the population. The number of speculators is not hard to estimate, even though the actual figures have never been made public, for obvious reasons. In 1928, a representative prosperity year, two New York brokerage firms did more than a tenth of the entire Stock Exchange business, and they had less than 12,000 active margin accounts (Journal of Commerce, June 16, 1928.) That same year, taking the income tax reports, there were less than 500,000 who reported possible speculative gains plus less than 75,000 who reported speculative losses. From the foregoing two sets of figures, a total of one million speculators would therefore be a reasonable estimate.

Among this probable million, the petty speculators, skilled workers, farmers or better-paid clerks, comprised only a sprinkling. The bulk of the speculators came from the prosperous middle class, with the upper capitalist circles reaping the real profits from the wild dance of the billions in the Twenties.

There was indeed speculation in the Twenties. And it was the decisive section of the capitalist class that was engaged in this speculation. And what was at the bottom of their frenzied speculation? They were betting on the continuation of the fabulous industrial boom of the Twenties. Not the "gaming fever" but the incipient collapse of industry produced the stock market crash on October 29, 1929.

PRODUCTION DECLINE

The decline in production started in July 1929. By the end of October this downward plunge of the economy was already in its fourth month. It did not reach its lowest point until 41 months later, in March 1933. Thus in October 1929 what the stock market really did was to register belatedly the transformation of the boom into the BUST, which the capitalists had so blindly ruled out.

Like a shadow the stock market continued to record the great depression of the Thirties, registering its worst declines in the 32 months from October 29, 1929 to July 8, 1932, when the values of the shares fell to a little over one-tenth of their peak 1929 levels.

The 1929 stock market crash came as the effect and not the cause of the initial phase of the oncoming depression at the time. It marked the start of the open, acute stage of that depression. Except for its depth and scope it represented nothing new in the history of capitalist economy. There were several depressions in the past that started in the same manner, notably the major depression of 1873-79 which began with the crash of the Vienna stock market in the old Austro-Hungarian empire and then leaped across the ocean to these shores bringing with it the crash that engulfed the great banking house of Jay Cooke and Company.

But depressions have started and will start in other ways, too. For example, the world-wide 1921 depression started with the crisis of the Japanese silk industry, when the market for silk shirts suddenly collapsed in the USA. In this country the signal for the depression was given when the Wanamaker department store in New York City slashed retail prices and the other retailers followed suit.

In 1921 there was no spectacular Wall Street collapse, but the stock market did register that depression just the same.

The real question therefore is not whether there will be another spectacular crash in Wall Street. Rather the question reads: Will the U.S. economy crash again? And the answer is that barring a plunge into World War III another economic crash is unavoidable, and, willy nilly, the stock market will register it, with the downward plunge in stock values proportionate to the scope and depth of this oncoming economic catastrophe.

Ten Days that Shook the World

By Carl Goodman

The Russian Revolution of November, 1917 is the greatest event of our time. In his book Ten Days That Shook The World, John Reed describes how the workers and peasants put an end for good to the hated rule of landlords and capitalists. Led by the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the working people of Russia created a workers and peasants democracy and began the Socialist reconstruction of their country. To tell the truth about this victorious working class struggle is essential to win today's fight for a better world.

The great lie that must be combatted is the one told by the current witch-hunters who claim that the greatest revolution in history was the work of a handful and not the conscious activity of the vast majority of the population. For instance on June 9, testifying in the Army McCarthy hearings, Sen. Joseph McCarthy slandered the Russian Revolution in the following way:

"In 1917 or '18," said McCarthy, "I forgot which it was—the Kaiser sent seven devoted Communists into Russia. They were headed by Nicolai Lenin . . . Within 100 days those seven men had taken over and enslaved a nation of 180,000,000 people . . . (who) no more wanted to be Communist slaves than we do. Seven people."

Just how these seven people turned the trick when 180,000,000 people were supposedly against them and the armed forces presumably stood on the other side, McCarthy didn't reveal. Nor did he intend to explain it. The very vagueness of the accusation serves the aim of the witch-hunters. It is the basis upon which they can claim that there is a "communist conspiracy" afoot that menaces the security of the U.S. today. They allege "Communist" infiltration and subversion. They charge treason in high places. Then they refer to the "seven Communists" in Russia who through "insiduous" ways supposedly enslaved 180,000,000 people that didn't want to be enslaved.

SLANDER STRIKERS TOO

The lie the witch-hunters hurl against the Russian Revolution is in essence the same as the usual slander the capitalist press uses in its attacks against a strike. **"Outside conspirators and agitators," they cry pointing to the strike leaders, "out to fool and hoodwink the workers in order to win power for themselves." Using this lie as a pretext, the bosses initiate all kinds of violent actions against the strikers to keep the "outside conspirators" from "enslaving" the workers.**

The employers and their political agents don't like to admit that working people organize of their own free will to struggle against oppressive conditions. They don't believe that workers can think for themselves or know what is good for them. They are least of all willing to admit to the democratic character of a great popular rising in which the working people take political and economic power out of their hands. Hence the resort to slander.

The actual method whereby the Bolshevik Party in Russia won power in 1917 was certainly not mysterious and there was nothing conspiratorial about it. The Bolsheviks agituted for their program in the open and won a majority to its banner, because that program met the needs of the workers and peasants.

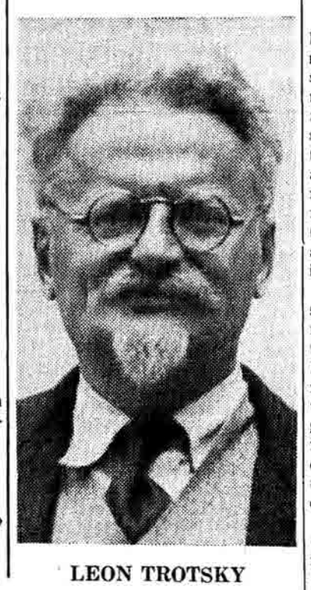
Revolution, Leon Trotsky once said, is the "entrance of the masses into the realm of rulership over their own destiny." The Bolshevik party of Lenin and Trotsky, which numbered not McCarthy's "seven plotters" but a quarter million active members (primarily industrial workers and soldiers), made that "mass entrance" successful. They gave the working people clear aims and organized them to achieve liberation. They acted like a strike leadership whose program and competence insures victory. Alone of all parties in Russia, the Bolsheviks had confidence in the ability of the working people to solve their own problems. That was the key to their success.

The popular character of the Russian Revolution is reluctantly admitted even by certain capitalist defenders. Thus Miliukov, leading capitalist politician in Russia prior to the overturn, writes in his book, Russia Today And Tomorrow (published in 1922): **"By a sort of subconscious instinct the masses — because it was the masses who decided — chose Lenin."** This apologist for capitalist rule is dead wrong when he speaks of a "subconscious instinct" — the workers knew exactly what they wanted. But he is right when he says that they chose Lenin — that is, chose the program of a Soviet government and the party that could lead them to achieve it.

MORE SLANDER

The witch hunters seek to prove their slander that the Russian Revolution was a conspiracy of a handful by pointing to the existence in the Soviet Union today of a monstrous dictatorship. They claim this dictatorship dates from the Russian Revolution. Again they lie. **The present bureaucratic regime usurped power by crushing the workers democracy founded under Lenin and Trotsky. A political revolution in Russia will overthrow the bureaucratic clique and restore the democratic rule of the workers councils that won power in 1917.**

No, it wasn't the Communists of Lenin and Trotsky's day who enslaved a people. On the contrary it is the capitalist witch hunters today, with their lies about all working class struggles, that seek to wipe out liberty in the United States. The course charted by the Russian workers in November 1917 is the road all workers will travel to achieve peace, economic well-being and freedom.



LEON TROTSKY

The Meaning of Atomic Weapons Test in USSR

By Daniel Roberts

Regular nuclear explosions in Russia! A-bomb, H-bomb and atomic artillery tests! Such is the news that the Atomic Energy Commission released on Oct. 26.

It means that the Soviet Union not only has the H-bomb—this was known some time ago. They also have an atomic stockpile big enough to conduct regular tests. The Russians are catching up with the U.S. in the technical ability to wage atomic war.

This is bad for the U.S. warmakers, because it checks their drive to war.

For the last nine years, ever since the end of World War II, the bankers and industrialists who dictate policy in the country have envered to plunge into war.

Their aim: world domination. Their reason: the needs of the profit system for markets, raw materials and fields of investment that will add riches to their already huge accumulations.

Their immediate target: the Soviet bloc. Their long-range target: domination of the entire world.

But each year the agents of Big Capital have postponed their mad adventure. What stayed their hands?

It was revolution and the threat of revolution. The Russian atomic tests are meaningful principally from that point of view.

THE WORLD THEY SEE

As the madmen of Wall St. look around this is what they see confronting them: the working class movement is a power in Western Europe, England and the U.S.

Of course, the labor leaders betray the workers and keep them tied to capitalist rule. In the U.S., they are rabid warmongers.

Just the same, these movements present the threat of rebellious explosions during the course of war, as casualties mount and civilian populations want an end to bombings, disease and poverty. The capitalist order would be toppled by an insurgent working class.

In Asia, Africa and Latin America, there are constant threats to foreign capitalist rule. In a war, the people of these countries would break away. They would strike out for national independence and badly needed social change.

But actual revolution is even more decisive as a deterrent to the war plans of America's rulers. In a mighty revolutionary upheaval, the Chinese people tore their country out of the imperialist grasp. Incalculable forces would be needed to beat the Chinese people into submission again and make them the slaves of capital.

The insurgent colonial masses showed their strength in Korea and Indochina where they stalemated or defeated the mechanized armies of the U.S. and France.

Finally, the H-bomb tests in Russia underscore the fact that this once economically backward country is catching up with the West.

The Russian Revolution of 1917 brought the basic changes that permitted this surge. And the threat to U.S. Big Capital is that the same thing will happen in China.

DESPITE KREMLIN

Thus even the technical superiority of the U.S. is challenged by its opponent.

It's true that the Kremlin gang in the Soviet Union is not revolutionary at all. It brutally oppresses the people and mismanages the economy. All progress was made despite the parasitic rule of the Soviet bureaucracy. Even so, Russia bounded ahead and is today an industrial giant, thanks to the new property forms created in 1917.

That is why the news of regular atomic tests in Russia have so alarmed the U.S. government. It means added display of power on the side of the revolution.

That spells new dangers to the capitalist war makers should they decide to go to war. The strength that is arrayed against them means that they cannot win. This fact makes them pause.

Board Blocks End Of Segregation in L. A. Fire Dept.

By Thelma Clyde

LOS ANGELES, Nov. 1—The Los Angeles Board of Fire Commissioners sought to abort the struggle to end segregation in the Los Angeles Fire Department with a "compromise" resolution last Thursday. This action "puts the fight back to just about where it started," Attorney Herbert Simmons, NAACP representative in the case told the local branch of the NAACP at its Oct. 31 membership meeting.

The Commissioners in their resolution recognized that confinement of Negro firemen to Stations 14 and 30 violated the law. But they left in the hands of race-hating Fire Chief Alderson the initiation and execution of a gradual transfer of personnel from these two stations to such other stations "as he may deem to be in the interests of the city and of his department."

Thus the Board of Commissioners capitulated to the show of force that Chief Alderson and his supporters organized at a Fire Commission hearing on Oct. 8.

The capitalist press heralded the demagogic statement of the Fire Commissioners (who are directly responsible to the Mayor) as a victory for the anti-segregation forces. But neither the NAACP nor the Negro press share this view.

The Oct. 31 NAACP meeting heard encouraging news of labor support for the fight to desegrate the Department. Members reported that the Fair Employment Practices Committee of Local 216, UAW-CIO was demanding the resignation of Fire Chief Alderson.

The AFL Central Labor Council rescinded its motion to support the Jim-Crow stand of the AFL Firefighters Union. The ILGWU Cutters Local, Cloak Makers Joint Board and Dress Makers Local passed resolutions for desegregating the Fire Department.

Pre-Xmas Bazaar, Carnival in L. A.

A pre-Christmas Bazaar and Carnival will be held in Los Angeles on Saturday, Nov. 13 at 1702 E. 4th St. The doors will open at 3 PM.

Friends of the Militant are invited to buy Christmas gifts and other things they need. Clothing, jewelry, accessories, books, records, a radio-record player — these and many other items will be on sale.

There will be carnival games and prizes for kids and adults. Also a door prize, pink lemonade, popcorn, peanuts and baloons. Win a tire for your car.

Dinner will be served from 5 to 8, and a dance and social will be held in the evening.

THE MILITANT

VOLUME XVIII — MONDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1954 — NUMBER 45

Minn. SWP Vote In Senate Race Double 1952

MINNEAPOLIS, Nov. 4—Vincent R. Dunne, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Senator, polled 8,372 votes on Nov. 2, the latest returns showed today. This is far more than double his vote for the same office in 1952 when the total vote in the state was much higher.

Dunne had campaigned on a socialist program in opposition to capitalism and war. He is a former leader of the famous Minneapolis truck drivers union and had played an outstanding role in the 1934 strikes that made Minneapolis a union town.

With the strong backing of the Minnesota union leadership, Sen. Hubert Humphrey, Democrat-Farmer-Laborite, won an overwhelming victory against his Republican opponent State Treasurer Val Bjornson. Humphrey got the labor officials' backing despite his leading role in pushing through the anti-union "Communist-infiltration" law in the last Congress.

VINCENT R. DUNNE

BEST SWP CAMPAIGN

This was the most successful election campaign ever waged by the Minnesota section of the Socialist Workers Party, measured not only in terms of votes won but in the widespread activity of party members and supporters. On Nov. 1, more than a thousand copies of the special election issue of the Militant, which backed Dunne's candidacy, were distributed to workers at packing plants in South St. Paul and Austin.

The capitalist press gave more than the usual publicity to Dunne's campaign. Four accounts of his candidacy appeared in last Sunday's Minneapolis paper. The Minnesota public opinion poll listed his expected vote as a "new factor" in the election. Last Friday's Twin City newspapers, in special "Voters' Guide" sections, carried a lengthy socialist statement by Dunne, along with statements of the other senatorial candidates.

Purge Militant Unionist In Seattle Steel Local

By John Little

SEATTLE, Oct. 15 — The International Executive Board of the United Steelworkers of America (CIO) took a page from the anti-labor McCarthyite handbook, and on Sept. 17 summarily expelled Eugene V. Dennett, grievance man and former officer of Bethlehem Steel Local 1208 for the "crime" of being "aligned in his thinking" with organizations arbitrarily listed by the Federal witch-hunters as "subversive."

Even by the standards of thought-control cops the charge was not proven. The Board's decision to expel Dennett was a brazen violation of the Steelworker's constitution and a bureaucratic assertion of power to dictate what members of the union may think.

The ouster of Dennett came on the heels of a red-baiting campaign conducted by the international union officials and Bethlehem plant management against the militant leadership of Local 1208 elected in the 1952 strike. Dennett was the spark plug of this new leadership. **During its term in office this leadership fought to protect pay scales and job conditions, pushed grievances involving discrimination against Negro members and generally promoted the interests of the rank and file of the local.**

Because of their activities, the militants made enemies not only with management but with the international representatives as well. They fought against the policy defined by Steelworker's President David J. McDonald as "developing . . . a degree of cooperation with industry which never existed before."

CHARGES UNTRUE

The drive to get rid of Dennett and push the militants out of leadership of the local began last January. At that time, Roland L. Gilland, a member of Local 1208 apparently prompted by the international representatives, the company and the FBI, filed some hair-raising charges against Dennett of the kind you see on a TV "red-spy" show.

According to Gilland, who is known as "Gabby" to the workers in the plant, Dennett tried to make a "Communist" out of him by threats of bodily violence and forcing him to read a "sinister" passage from a book by Lenin. The "Gabby" charges were completely exploded in the course of the local union's trial.

Nevertheless, Dennett was dropped as an officer of the local at a meeting last March, even though the trial committee didn't dare to find him guilty as charged. **The meeting where Dennett was deposed as a union officer was packed by McCarthyite, pro-company elements in the plant. Their outlook was: "First we'll get Dennett and then the CIO."**

DENNETT CAVES IN

Last June, in the middle of local elections in which Dennett again contested for office, the Velde Committee came to Seattle and subpoenaed him. The right wing slate in Local 1208 capitalized on the red-hunting hysteria unleashed by the Velde Committee and won the elections.

Dennett himself capitulated under the pressure. He offered to turn informer — an offer which the suspicious red-hunters did not accept and which Dennet never followed up publicly.

Dennett's cave-in reflected the confusion and demoralization among the workers in the plant when the Velde hysteria went unopposed by the labor movement. Some of the workers urged Dennett to "clear" himself in order to take the heat off their slate. Dennett gave in. But the international officials weren't satisfied; they expelled him anyway.

The militants, however, aren't through. Their two year record in the Local and their courageous defense of union principles against the International has earned them the respect of the best union workers in the plant.

But in the fights ahead the militants will have to show more than union savvy. They will have to advance a political program as well. This they failed to do in their struggle to defend Dennett. They tended to rest their case on their fine union records and sought to duck the red-baiting charge instead of exposing it as a pistol aimed at the heart of labor by the capitalist class.

The indispensable premise of the successful fight for union democracy, without which unionism will perish, is a firm anti-capitalist program. The labor officials, who act like thought-control police of capitalism within the ranks of the working class can be defeated only by a new leadership that knows how to fight the capitalists and their agents.

CIO Auto Union Has Opportunity To Give Lead to All Labor in '55

By Bill Talbot

DETROIT — Millions of American workers will have their eyes on the CIO United Automobile Workers in the 1955 contract fights. They will be looking to the UAW, which holds its national pre-contract conference on Nov. 11 and 12, for the lead in combating unemployment, wage cuts and union-busting. The UAW is in position to set the pattern for the labor movement.

The auto workers' negotiations will take place under conditions of widespread unemployment and an employers' anti-labor offensive. The latter includes the new "Communist-infiltration" legislation designed to open unions to attack under a "red" smokescreen; wage-slashing under threat of plant close-downs, known as the "Studebaker Plan"; and direct strikebreaking and scab-herding by the forces of "law and order," as in Detroit's Square D strike.

In spite of both Democratic and Republican promises of revision or repeal, the Taft-Hartley law is still on the books. Its deadly injunction features have already been used dozens of times, by both Truman and Eisenhower. It contains still other weapons to break strikes and unions that will come to the fore in future labor battles. Eighteen states have "right-to-work" — that is, right to scab — laws that ban any form of a union shop. With the new Butler-Humphrey law, the legal machinery is established for what is, in effect, government licensing of unions. The Subversive Activities Control Board can deprive any union of its legal standing by simply declaring it "Communist-infiltrated."

The employers are also testing their open strikebreaking techniques. In Cleveland, the corporations broke a strike by running scabs through a UAW picket line at the Park Drop Forge plant and the UAW no longer has a contract. In Wisconsin, the Kohler strike is dragging into its eighth month. The corporations have felt so sure of themselves and their red-baiting formula they even attempted to break a strike with scab-herding here in Detroit, a fortress of industrial unionism. The solidarity of UAW locals with the Square D strikers prevented the smashing of the strike and the independent United Electrical Workers local, although the contract contained some poor terms because of the failure of the top UAW leaders to give wholehearted backing to the Square D workers and their UAW allies on the picket line.

Need to Prepare for Real Fight

The events in Cleveland, Kohler and Detroit indicate the growing difficulty of winning reasonable settlements simply by flexing the union's muscles. C. E. Wilson's crack about "birddogs" who go out and get their food referred not only to workers hungry enough to go a hundred miles for jobs, but also hungry enough to cross picket lines. The corporations count on mass unemployment to soften up the unions and are determined to fight the unions bitterly with the aim of restoring the open shop.

However, the Square D battle taught a valuable lesson. The mere beginning of united mass action by Detroit unions sufficed to stop the complete destruction of the Square D union. If these unions had wanted to use the most militant action, they could have shut the plant down and won a good contract. "Labor holiday," was on everyone's lips, but that kind of action was not used and led to a poor settlement.

Militant methods of struggle will be indispensible in the coming period to save the unions, including the UAW, from the all-out attack being prepared by Big Business and its government, to regain ground already lost and win new concessions. The ranks must be mobilized and readied for a real fight.

Program to Strengthen the Union

As a prerequisite in their union-busting drive, the employers are seeking to limit and destroy the right to strike, foundation-stone of unionism. To increase the UAW's fighting strength means to fortify the right to strike. The relentless speedup drive is undermining many gains of the past and it is particularly important to maintain the right to strike over production standards. **Let the motto be: NO CONCESSIONS ON THE RIGHT TO STRIKE! To strengthen the union's hand inside the shop as well as on the picket line means A STEWARD FOR EVERY FOREMAN in addition to present on-the-job representation.**

Anticipating the struggle to come, the corporations are victimizing the best fighters against speedup by use of the "company security" clauses. Some UAW members have been fired for activities on the Square D picket line on the pretext of alleged "falsification of records." A good part of the membership could be fired under this subterfuge. The companies still use these clauses sparingly, but when the chips are down they will be used freely to get rid of the most active militants. **THE UNION MUST PROTECT ITS FIGHTERS by a 30-day limit on discharges for alleged falsification of records.**

While direct union-busting is being prepared and tested, some companies are demanding "voluntary" speedup and wage-cuts "to improve our competitive position." This is accompanied by a propaganda barrage in daily newspapers and national magazines to the effect that the country's economic difficulties, reflected in regional unemployment, runaway plants, shutdowns, etc., are due to the "irresponsibility" of unions which do not cooperate with the bosses to "bring wages and productivity into line."

The corporations are putting themselves in a good offensive position by blaming the country's troubles on "gangster-ridden, communist-infiltrated, irresponsible" unions, not the failure of the economic system. They demand that the unions give major concessions to alleviate the troubles.

The reaction of the union to such proposals is crucial. To go along with such demands gives weight to company arguments and cuts the ground from under the feet of other workers fighting to maintain or improve their standards.

The "one-at-a-time" policy is now being effectively used against the auto workers. One local after another is being confronted with demands for concessions along the lines of the "Studebaker Plan." When the boss says, "We can't compete. Take a cut. Produce more for less so we can grab the other companies' business and save your job," he is using the oldest and phoniest argument in the book. This just sets off a general wage-cutting, speedup drive, because other bosses use the same argument about "competition." We see that what began as a trickle at Kaiser-Willys in Toledo is now a flood of "Studebaker Plans."

If, for instance, the "Big Three" standards are below those of other manufacturers, **the union's job is not to lower the highest standards but to RAISE THE WAGES OF THE BIG THREE. The UAW's founding principle of solidarity of all workers in the fight for better conditions must be reasserted to put an end to the one-at-a-time demands for cuts by the corporations. Uniform high standards can be assured with INDUSTRY-WIDE BARGAINING, which can also meet more effectively the problem of the runaway shops.**

The Battle on Unemployment

The corporations and their politicians of both parties would solve the economic problems by taking it out of the hides of the workers. It is the duty of the UAW, and the labor movement, to put into action a program which will really begin to solve the problem of unemployment. A Guaranteed Annual Wage plan which would assure all the workers a full year's wages at full union rates would be a good step in the right direction.

The few GAW plans now in effect fall far short of that goal. They either apply only to high seniority employes, who face least risk of layoffs, or offer only a paltry addition to unemployment compensation and for a very limited period of time.

The proposed GAW plan of the UAW bears close scrutiny on a number of counts. Aside from the fact that it offers no means of restoring the jobs of the many thousands of laid-off workers, it does not guarantee an "annual" wage to low-seniority workers. It calls for "graduation of the guarantee for the low-seniority workers." This operates against the young workers, those who come up from the South, members of minority groups, women — those who usually fall into the low-seniority category.

But it is just these people, the young workers and the most exploited sections of labor, who can be the best union fighters. They must be given a stake in the fight by being included fully in all union benefits.

The present economic system constantly tends to produce unemployment by replacing workers with machines. This process is being stepped up with automation. Three workers today do the work of four just a few years ago. Replaced workers are laid off. It is up to the union to win back their jobs and to assure the workers as a whole the benefits of increased productivity. **This is embodied in the shorter work week with no loss in weekly take-home pay — the 30-HOUR WEEK FOR 40 HOURS' PAY.**

If improved productivity is not to result in growing unemployment, then it becomes necessary to reduce the work-day and work-week, while increasing wages and raising the standard of living. The American labor movement got its big start in the fight for the eight-hour day. One of the major triumphs of the rise of the CIO in the Thirties was the winning of the 40-hour week, with overtime after eight hours a day and five days a week. This has been the historic program of labor over the decades.

The demand for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay is simple, complete and easily understood. It doesn't allow for 50 different interpretations and legal loopholes. It benefits all workers, including those laid-off, by dividing available work among more workers without cutting take-home pay. This demand is already part of the program of a majority of organized workers in America. It strikes a sympathetic chord in most workers. By raising this demand, the UAW would not only inspire its own ranks but evoke a real response from the unorganized, who must be won to unionism in order to meet the problems of runaway plants and the maintaining of union standards.

This is a reasonable demand. Already the rubber workers in many plants and the West Coast longshoremen have won the six-hour day. The AFL garment workers have won a 35-hour week in many sections of their industry. The AFL is on record for the 30-hour week and important AFL unions, like the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, are making contract demands for the 30-hour week at 40 hours' pay. The UAW can take the lead for all labor in '55 by fighting for "30 FOR 40."

The past year has again sharply reminded us that the watchword of the private profits system is instability. Contracts based on the perspective of long-term economic stability and slow, steady changes without sharp, sudden fluctuations are traps. The experience with the UAW's five-year contracts have taught that real wages and conditions tend to fall behind the upward flight of prices. The small "productivity wage increases" are almost a joke compared with the big rise in production per man-hour due to speedup and automation. The five-year contracts tie the workers' hands while the corporations hit them with price boosts, speedup, tax hikes and unemployment. **Quick defense of union conditions in fast-changing times demands SHORT-TERM CONTRACTS.**

Detroit -- Not 1934 but 1954!

In recent Square D strike police aided company's plan to re-introduce old-fashioned strikebreaking. Pres. Paul Silver of UAW-CIO Local 351 is shown above pinned to wall. Rallying of auto workers locals to the independent UE picket line prevented smashing of Square D workers' union.

Labor Needs Its Own Party

It has become an axiom today that everything labor wins on the picket line and at the bargaining table is threatened by union-crippling laws and labor-hating politicians. More than ever before, labor's struggle demands political action.

This doesn't mean, however, acting as the tail to the kite of one of the capitalist parties, like the Democrats. The Democrats have broken every promise to labor — from repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act to passage of a Fair Employment Practices law. They backed the vicious Butler-Humphrey bill.

For years and years, we have heard hints from UAW leaders about a "new party." It is time to turn from words to deeds. Much valuable time has been lost in playing ball with the Democratic Party of big city bosses and Southern anti-Negro, anti-labor rulers. This time should have been used to lay the foundations of an independent labor party, advancing labor's own program and candidates.

The UAW can start the ball rolling by calling on the rest of organized labor to join in convoking a UNITED CONGRESS OF LABOR, with rank and file representation from all unions, to formulate a program against unemployment, war and reaction and to launch LABOR'S OWN PARTY.

The Talk in an Auto Plant on Eve of Election

By B. Evans

DETROIT, Oct. 31 — A great many workers have been called back on the job during the last few weeks in my shop, which is one of the larger auto plants here. The main discussion in the shop concerns working conditions, and the efforts of the company to get us to work faster than we did before the layoffs. But there is interest in the elections too.

A couple of days ago two of the men were in a discussion. One of them is an older man, with more than 20 years seniority. The other isn't 30 yet, and his layoff lasted much longer than the older man's.

"The last ten years have been the best in my life," the older man argued. And he went ahead and listed all the good things of these ten years — his steady work, except for his short layoff this year, his home on which all the payments had been finished, and so on.

HOPES FOR CHANGE

He was amazed when the younger man said he couldn't say the same about the last ten years. He could hardly believe his ears.

"Ten years ago," the younger man said, "I was on the battlefield of Europe, not knowing what I was doing there and not knowing if I'd ever come back alive. Now I can't make a living. I live from paycheck to paycheck. I have to ration the number of cigarettes I smoke. I can't meet the doctor's bills for the wife and kids. I just couldn't live on the unemployment check I got during the layoff. No, these ten years certainly haven't been the best of my life, and I hope the next ten years are altogether different."

I couldn't stay to hear the end of their discussion. But it seemed to me to reflect the thinking behind the political attitudes of the workers in my shop.

Some of them are satisfied. Others have been shaken up by the layoffs, especially the men and women who were out the longest. These layoffs have had different effects: Some workers are saying, "I'll do anything not to lose my job," and they are ready to work faster if need be, without grumbling. Others grumble about the speedup, showing little confidence in the ability of the company to keep them employed, saying, "What's the use of working ourselves out of a job?" Still others are angry and want the union to fight the speedup.

But all of them, the workers who are satisfied and the workers who are militant or uncertain — all of them plan to vote Democratic this year. They hold the Republicans responsible for the recession, they consider the Republicans a depression party and a big business party, and they intend to vote it out if they can.

SWITCH FROM '52

In 1952 there were a small number of workers in our department who were for Eisenhower and who spoke up for him and who made a lot out of his promises to end the Korean war. This year these same workers are quiet. **Not one of them has anything to say for the Republicans. They don't even try to give Eisenhower credit for ending the war. I don't know if they themselves are still going to vote Republican, and I doubt it, but anyhow they're not trying to talk it up for the Republicans this time.**

The workers in my shop are going to vote pretty solidly Democratic, but I can't see any great enthusiasm for the Democrats in their attitude. In fact, I think I detect a new defensive note among many of them when they talk politics. Here is one attitude that I have heard expressed a number of times, especially when I raise the question of a Labor Party and why labor should run its own candidates:

ANOTHER CHANCE

"You say the Democrats aren't true friends of labor. Well, I'm not convinced of that. I think they are. Anyhow I want to give them another chance. I hope that the Democrats make a full sweep and win control of the full Congress and the full State Legislature. Let them get full control and then let's see what they'll do; what they'll do about unemployment and about Taft-Hartley and all the rest. Then they won't be able to blame the Republicans in Washington or Lansing. It'll all be in their own hands, and they'll show what they're made of."

"And if they don't do anything?"

"And if they don't do anything, then everybody will know whose fault it is, and then we'll have to try something else. Then we'll have to think about a new setup and maybe running our own people for office."

I don't know how widespread this sentiment is, although I've run across it pretty frequently. But if it is widespread, I think then it is a good omen for the future, and that this may be the last election where labor will have no candidates of its own.

...ATTACK ASR PICKETS

(Continued from page 1)

tions are exposed to the same anti-unionism. In Rome, Georgia, for example, General Electric, which has a contract with the IUE-CIO, has come out openly for the open shop. After lining up a phony "citizens committee," GE imported a gang of paid "propagandists" and is now engaged in a vicious campaign to smash the union.

These are the real reasons for ASR's plans to move to the South. The N. Y. unions have a big stake in the ASR strike and they belong down on the picketline backing up UE's fight for a contract.

SQUARE D EXAMPLE

The recent Square D strike in Detroit is a stirring example of how to fight union-busting. Thousands of rank-and-file members of the CIO, AFL, and independent unions marched on the UE's picketline and forced Square D to sign a contract. This is the kind of help that's needed on the ASR picketline.

The top strategists of Big Business are following the efforts of ASR to smash Local 475. Should they succeed, it will mean an extension of their drive to destroy the unions — especially those signed up with potential runaways.

Now that the elections are over, the unions might as well forget about getting help from the "friends of labor" in the Democratic Party. The latter will be too busy toadying up to Big Business. Democratic Mayor Wagner's cops beating up the ASR strikers is a clear example for every union militant to remember.

When labor builds its own independent party and has its own candidate sitting in city hall it can depend on political support. Right now, the radio, press, TV, city administration, cops and the Democratic and Republican Parties are lined up solid on the side of ASR in its union-smashing attack.

Detroit Fri. Night Socialist Forum

The Senate Motion To Censure McCarthy
Friday, Nov. 12 at 8 P. M.

The UAW Faces the 1955 Contract Fights
Friday, Nov. 19, at 8 P. M.

At 3000 Grand River
(Room 207)

Donation 25c
Free to Unemployed

Subscribe!

Start your subscription now. Clip the coupon and mail it in today. Send $1.50 for six months subscription or $3 for a full year to The Militant, 116 University Place, New York 3, N. Y.

Name .....

Street ..... Zone .....

City ..... State .....

☐ $1.50 Six months ☐ $3.00 Full year ☐ New ☐ Renewal